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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own [577] account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

[547] When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the [266] victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7).

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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628 721 [302] tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward the lower section by a little cylinder of bone (*puo*), a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana* (*umu*, oven; *heana*, human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

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[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

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Treatment of Captives Taken in Raids

727 Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinoka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground (9). (See Human Sacrifice). The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were [266] destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him (8). *Ta ika (ta,* strike; *ika,* fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika, fish.* Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole *(amo.)* Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were *tapu.* Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing (4).

Torture of Captives

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff (18, p. 150) describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern (16, p. 180) was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre (4) gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heaka tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae,* was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi,* to fish with a line,) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 [302] *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was customary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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252 age of *ma; tipo*, to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma*, to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *touevo*, small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoa*, to put coconut milk on *popoi*.

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kavo* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kavo* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kavo*, being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kavo* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*kaka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting [415] with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kavo* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kavo* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kavo* was always drunk [266] as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
776 the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par-
526] ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

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were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

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796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

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inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou*, post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i*, nick-

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practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him.

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19).

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected.

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

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1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted. [266]

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people. It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get possession of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

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301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.
besmear themselves like the men.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-
nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane.
The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom
makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes
[264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given
in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons
which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they
never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the
horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were
obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they
could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with
hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only,
• [266] four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth,
every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for
want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger
than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island,
727 it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, how-
ever, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war
were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies.
We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each;
but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for
sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

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1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh.

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe.

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

415 Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal, but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

415 764 [824] At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *kipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *ηuio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

415 A description of a special type of small circular container, called *huc po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

[266] This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

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226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional

danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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712 622 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case 727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough 266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. [411] Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] [302] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe 266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive groups, but both women and children participated in the cannibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that